[805] 821 They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.

They call the moon caxiate.

The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.

The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.

The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.

Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

[805] To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacutá.

The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.

The morning star, cabiará.

The Southern Cross, chenchentá (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

823 They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

775 When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbê, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekçá large enough to hold them all.

[821] Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain, and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

[776] Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

764 When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 888 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturões, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 [302] mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
[175] deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
000 Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

771 to a degree that varied slightly with their ceremonial knowledge.

775 Spirits

[776] The Mundurucú spirits consisted of three rough classes. These were souls of the dead, spirit "mothers" of animals, fish, and plant species, and a variety of malignant beings. The soul was known as the ibiõnbõk, which also means shadow and image, and lived after death in the land of the sky, which was a hemispherical dome placed over a flat earth. The afterworld was a pleasant place where there were Mundurucú villages and the old Mundurucú culture was active. The souls of the dead were not dangerous and remained aloof from human society with the exception of that of the sorcerer which had to be destroyed after he was killed. Otherwise, the only time that the soul was malignant was when a very sick person lost his soul during sleep or a coma. The soul wandered abroad and tried to rob the souls of sleeping people. The Mundurucú distinguished the "real" soul (ibiõnbõk), which was located in the center of the back, from the ibiõnbõk which was the reflection or the shadow of the person. The latter persisted after death also and, under circumstances to be discussed later, could roam the world as a certain type of evil spirit.

Souls could also be lost through offending the spirit "mother" of a game animal. The spirit "mother" robbed the soul and passed it from one game animal to another and finally through all the species of fish. This journey of

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled farther, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Game animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

776 825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the <u>putchashi</u> (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant supply of water and the Mundurucú recognize this fact. However, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
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534 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

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775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulae that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

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562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
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562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776 778 174 614

When the Munduruc shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Munduruc thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Munduruc believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ebiwabik;* the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ebiwabik;* one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *ahk* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ebiwabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Munduruc are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karibi*, go to Karibikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests teem with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitchari, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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● 775 rich in game animals, and they and the Munduruú souls pass their time in dancing. Both Karikikai and Upiterharé lie in a subterranean land called Karubiawe. The Munduruú believe Karubiawe has three locations: below the headwaters of the Jurucua River, under the Great Falls of the Cururú River, and west of the Tapajós River beyond where the sun sets.

Life in the underworld is far better than in the terrestrial realm. The souls reassume their old bodies, but they are groomed and decorated in the manner followed by the Munduruú before the coming of the white men. Similarly, the souls do not have to gather rubber, for there are no traders or trade goods; in short, the aboriginal culture is completely reestablished in the underworld. Food is good and abundant, and the Munduruú souls make war and take trophy heads. But Munduruú warriors are never killed in the hereafter—only the enemy dies.

It has already been mentioned that the souls of those people killed by attacks of the Furupuri go to the land of the Furupuri and are there transformed into these demons. The Munduruú look upon this as an undesirable fate, although it is not regarded with particular dread and foreboding. The same lack of deep concern for the fate of the soul is found in Munduruú attitudes toward the underworlds of the trumpets and the game. Although all acknowledge that life in these realms must indeed be idyllic, no one actively anticipates this existence. The Munduruú do not learn ceremonial dances or play the trumpets in order to gain a favored residence after death. There were no indications that concepts of the afterlife acted as motivating factors or goals of behavior. Correspondingly, since one's fate after death is not considered as a reward for socially valued behavior, there is no post-mortem punishment or retribution for undesirable behavior. One goes to the land of the Furupuri only because one has been attacked and killed by them, and these attacks are the result of misfortune and not of sin. To the Munduruú life after death is not a subject for worry. When I asked one informant where she expected to go after death, she laughingly replied, "To a termite hill." Another decided to go to Pará (Belém), which all Munduruú know to be the great city of the white men.

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797 Missionary teachings have affected the beliefs of the more intensively proselytized Munduruú to some extent. Those Indians who had spent some time at the mission school knew that people who did things contrary to the teachings of the priests went to "the fire of the Furupuri," but those who acted according to these precepts "joined Tupan in the sky." However, it is doubtful if Christian belief in the hereafter influenced the behavior of more than a few of the most rigorously indoctrinated Indians. Although missionary teachings were generally accepted as true (at least as applicable to the white men) owing to the high prestige of the priests among the Munduruú, the Indians commonly accepted the form of the ideas only and not their meaning. In those cases where the form of a Catholic belief became integrated into the culture, it invariably was made meaningful in Munduruú terms, and the actual form underwent some transmutation in the process. Usually the same cultural trait will not have the same function in two

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totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the structure of Mundurucú culture.

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge.

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *uxetakaakat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weakness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *uxetakaakat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about.

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *uxetakaakat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it.

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe

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under the protection of a spirit master nor do they possess the *ckawei*, or malignant power of the game. Finally, all other human beings are considered endowed with souls much like those of the Mundurucú. However, informants had no idea where the souls of the white people and Indians of other tribes went after death, beyond referring to the missionary's heaven. Upon being asked the destination of the souls of white people, one Mundurucú chuckled and replied, "You, and not I, should know the answer to that question."